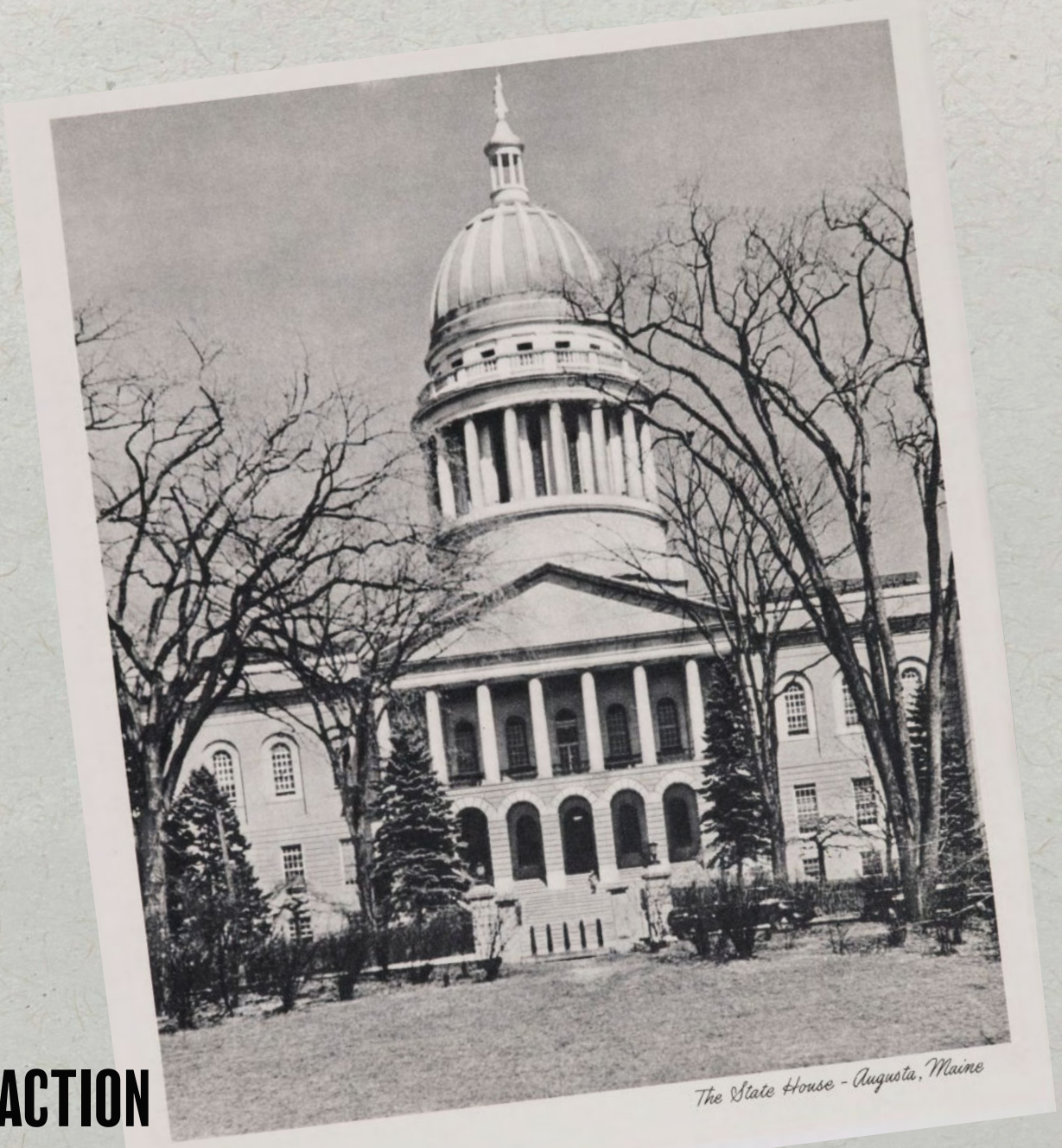


PPP ACTION

IMBALANCED JUSTICE: NEW ENGLAND

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INTRODUCTION AND KEY FINDINGS

New England, the birthplace of American democracy, includes some of the most progressive states in the country—but the courts in these states are dominated by former corporate lawyers, prosecutors, and political insiders.

People's Parity Project and PPP Action (PPPA) have been researching the backgrounds of state court judges for years, analyzing trends related to professional diversity. Everywhere we've looked, red states and blue states, we've found few judges who reached the bench after spending their careers representing people in need. This is a problem, because state courts are the key to protecting the rights of workers, consumers, patients, tenants, and people accused of crimes.

Across New England, there's a clear lack of professional diversity on state benches. Our new research finds that more than 60 percent of the high court justices in New England worked for corporations or corporate law firms.[1] This includes all seven justices in Massachusetts and a majority of justices in three other states. In addition, several justices in the region did corporate law work at general practice firms.

Around 40 percent of the region's appellate judges worked as criminal prosecutors. And many of the judges are political insiders—former politicians or lawyers for the political branches of government. Nearly half of the Superior Court judges we examined in Rhode Island are former legislators or lawyers who represented them.

Only a small portion, less than six percent, of New England's total appellate judges worked as either Legal Aid lawyers, civil rights attorneys, or public defenders. Those meager numbers are similar to the percentage of public interest lawyers that we found on the bench in other states. Some elected officials and ordinary voters are beginning to demand more professional diversity on New England courts.

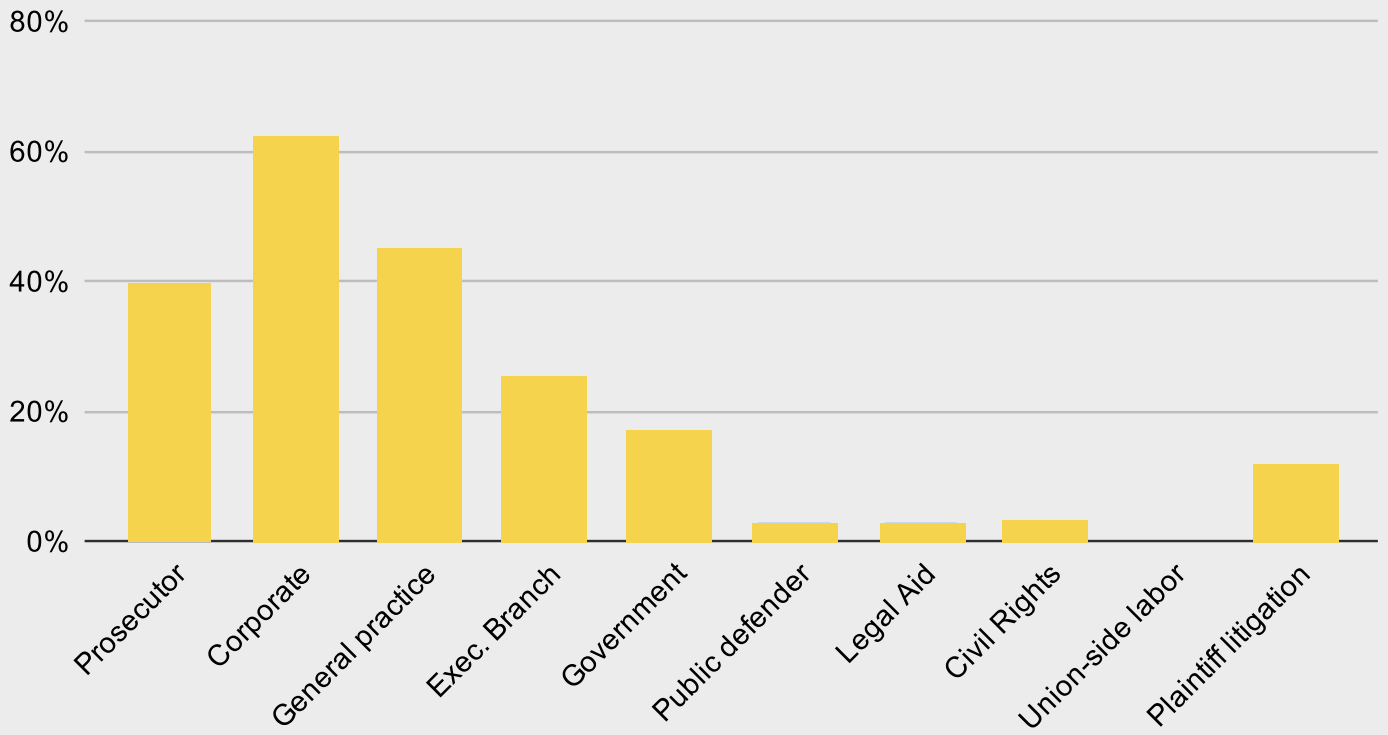
More than 60 percent of the high court justices in New England worked for corporations or corporate law firms.

This lack of professional diversity matters, because research has shown that a judge's professional background tends to correlate with how they rule in certain cases. PPP's research on Connecticut eviction cases, for example, found that "renters are significantly more likely to receive harsher judgments from judges with backgrounds including prosecution and corporate law, while renters receive slightly more favorable outcomes under former legal aid, general practice, Attorney General's office, and plaintiffs' litigation attorneys." This report includes a case study of the highest court in Massachusetts, finding a rise in the percentage of rulings for corporations and employers as more lawyers with experience representing powerful interests joined the bench.

The predominance of corporate lawyers on the bench may be out of step with the values of most New Englanders. The region boasts some of the highest unionization rates and most pro-worker policies in the country. But of the five members of the Vermont Supreme Court, four worked as prosecutors and two are former corporate lawyers. Two of those ex-prosecutors were appointed in 2026; also earlier this year, New Hampshire's governor put another former corporate lawyer on the bench.

[1] We included two high court nominees in Connecticut and Rhode Island. The research includes 380 total judges on the appellate and Superior Courts. See Appendix A. This includes 309 Superior Court judges. See Appendix C. Only Massachusetts and Connecticut have intermediate appellate courts. See Appendix B.

NEW ENGLAND HIGH COURT JUSTICES



Incumbent governors are doing little to address the problem. In Connecticut and Rhode Island, the high court nominees currently pending before state legislators both worked as prosecutors, and one has corporate law experience. In Connecticut, despite a years-long campaign by a local coalition of advocacy groups, of Governor Ned Lamont' six nominees to the state supreme court, four have worked as prosecutors and two as corporate lawyers. Lamont's only nominee with legal aid or general practice experience, Christine Keller, was the spouse of a former Speaker of the House and mother of the then-incoming Speaker, and only served for about eighteen months before reaching the mandatory retirement age.

Overall, our research shows a clear lack of professional diversity in New England courts. Most judges, especially at the appellate level, spent their careers helping corporations, working for politicians, or trying to put people in prison. Relatively few judges spent their careers representing workers or other people in need.

POLITICIANS CHOOSE THE JUDGES

Unlike states in nearly every other region, New England states use a federal-style appointment system to choose their judges.[2] The governors in most of these states choose all of the judges, usually with assistance from commissions that they control, and the nominees must be confirmed by other elected officials. Unlike in most states, voters in New England neither make initial decisions about who serves on the bench, nor have the opportunity to oust judges and justices through retention elections. The result is that politicians exert more control—and the people exert less direct control—over judicial selection in New England than any other region. But voters do have the power to choose their politicians, who can be pressed to increase professional diversity on the bench.

[2] A few Northeastern states have federal-style systems. Delaware and New Jersey also give their governors power to choose judges, subject only to Senate confirmation. In New York, appellate judges are appointed by the governor, subject to Senate confirmation; trial court judges are elected.

Politicians exert more control—and the people exert less direct control—over judicial selection in New England than any other region.

Judges in three New England states also serve longer terms than their peers in any other states. Other states require judges to face voters, often after their first term. The Brennan Center for Justice found that the average term for state supreme courts is eight years, with the average justice serving for 13 years. But judges in three New England states could serve for decades without ever having to be reappointed or reelected. Justices in Massachusetts and New Hampshire serve until the mandatory retirement age of seventy.[3] Rhode Island judges serve for life, just like federal judges.

In three New England states, Maine, Massachusetts, and New Hampshire, the governors appoint their own commissions to help them choose judges. Many of these commissions have been dominated by attorneys for corporations or big corporate law firms. Boston is home to some of the nation's largest and most influential law firms, whose former employees are judges or members of nominating commissions around New England. In the last 10 years, dozens of national firms have opened offices in Boston.

When recent governors established their nominating commissions to help them select judges, they often looked to lawyers at these big firms to fill them. Nearly half the members of the commission chosen by Massachusetts Governor Maura Healey, a former Attorney General and corporate lawyer, are attorneys for corporate law firms or big banks. Only a few members are spending their careers helping people in need.

Massachusetts is a clear example of an insular nomination process that relies on political insiders and big, fancy law firms. The predominance of corporate lawyers and prosecutors on the state's appellate court is a longstanding problem that spans Republican and Democratic governors.

In 2024's *Imbalanced Justice report*, PPP found that nearly half of Massachusetts' judges had worked as corporate lawyers, and well over half were former prosecutors. Only a handful of judges specialized in helping workers, consumers, or tenants. At the time, five of Healey's six appointees to appellate and Superior Courts had been former corporate lawyers. In fact, Healey first met Gabrielle Wolohojian, her second high court nominee, when they both worked at the same big corporate law firm. PPP commented that the process to nominate Wolohojian "exposed the problems inherent in giving a governor so much influence over the selection of judges."

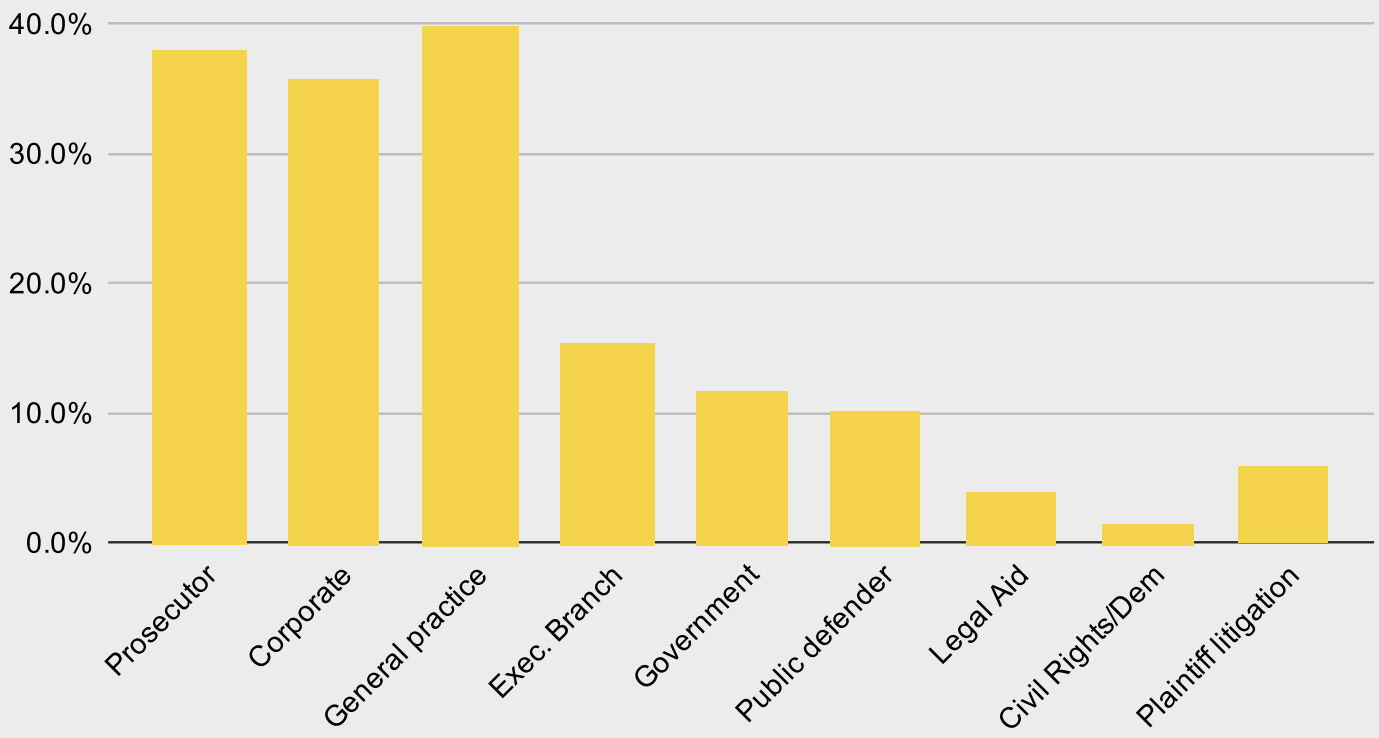
More than half of the Superior Court judges in Massachusetts are former prosecutors, and other states in the region aren't much better. Only New Hampshire and Vermont have significant representation for public defenders on their trial courts.[4]

REFORM IS A WORK IN PROGRESS

Three New England states have taken steps to reform how judges are chosen, bringing in people besides politicians and lawyers into the process. But lawmakers and governors continue to exercise effective control. In Connecticut, Rhode Island, and Vermont, state law now requires governors to choose potential judges from lists of qualified candidates drawn up by a nominating commission. These states refer to their systems as "merit selection," but other states that use that term also require appointed-judges to run in periodic "retention" elections.

[3] The other three New England states appoint judges for 6- to 8-year terms.
[4] See Appendix C

NEW ENGLAND UPPER-LEVEL TRIAL COURTS



These merit-selection systems were intended to ensure that political considerations alone could not determine who becomes a judge. The goal was more qualified judges. After a series of controversial judicial appointments, including some that may have been influenced by organized crime, Rhode Island voters approved a constitutional amendment in the 1990s that ended legislative appointment and created a commission to assess the most qualified applicants. Vermont voters approved their reform in 1974, ending a system that gave legislators the power to appoint judges and decide—every two years—whether they kept their seats.

Despite these reforms, politicians largely remain in control. Lawmakers constitute half of the nominating commission in Vermont, and they choose half the commission in Connecticut. Rhode Island legislators choose the majority of commissioners, and both houses must confirm the governor's judicial nominees. Many former lawmakers continue to end up on the bench throughout New England.

New England politicians haven't chosen many public interest lawyers for their commissions, although there are some signs of progress. Rhode Island's commission includes a mix of private sector lawyers, both corporate attorneys and those who represent injured plaintiffs. Connecticut law requires its nominating commission to be evenly split between lawyers and non-lawyers, and the commission currently includes corporate lawyers and lobbyists, in addition to policy experts and lawyers who represent workers or consumers.

Policymakers in Connecticut and Rhode Island are debating further reforms to the system. In 2025, Connecticut's governor signed a bill requiring the nominating commission to collect anonymous data on the professional backgrounds of all applicants for judicial vacancies and on candidates approved by the Judicial Selection Commission for publication in an annual report. The goal was to provide enough information to identify any bias for or against certain backgrounds on the JSC and provide transparency about the candidate pool.

These three states have taken steps to reign in governors or lawmakers. But they've stopped far short of states in other regions, where merit selection commissions aren't as dominated by politicians. Many states in other regions also offer a formal role for the public and lawyers to offer their input, making it easier for them to push for more professional diversity on the bench.

PUSHING BACK ON THE GOVERNORS

Other politicians, besides the governors, are also responsible for the lack of professional diversity on the bench. The only other people with any formal power to block nominations in New England are the elected officials who must confirm the governor's nominees. State legislators perform this function in some states, and elected "councils" do it in Massachusetts and New Hampshire.

Governors have met increasing resistance to their nominees from some elected officials. In a rare occurrence in 2023, one of Connecticut Governor Ned Lamont's high court nominees, prosecutor Sandra Slack Glover, was actually forced to withdraw her candidacy. Her nomination had received significant pushback based on her endorsement of her fellow U.S. Supreme Court clerk, Amy Coney Barrett, for a federal judgeship.

In Massachusetts, the elected, six-member Governor's Council has mostly rubberstamped the governor's choices. Jean Trounstine of Horizon Mass found that the Council, which has long had a Democratic majority, confirmed 80% of the nominations from former Republican Governor Charlie Baker. But a coalition of activists is pushing the Council to improve transparency and take a closer look at nominees to the courts and the state's parole board. Some newer members of the Governor's Council have brought unprecedented diversity and tougher questions for judicial nominees. Former public defender Mara Dolan was elected to the Council in 2024, after promising to push for more professional diversity on the bench. When Councilor Tara Jacobs cast the lone vote against confirming Justice Gabrielle Wolohojian, she explained that she felt that the nominee "intellectualize[d] the marginalized community's struggle in a way that feels very much a bubble of privilege and detached from the struggle itself." Despite these strides, the Council has continued to confirm the governor's nominees.

In Vermont earlier this year, the Senate nearly voted down the nomination of Justice Michael Drescher, who served as a federal prosecutor under President Donald Trump and prosecuted two students for opposing the ongoing genocide in Palestine. While the nomination was ultimately successful, voters at least spoke out against the nominee and persuaded some lawmakers to vote no.

New Hampshire's elected Executive Council originally voted down the nomination of Chief Justice Gordon MacDonald, before approving him in 2021. It was the first time a high court nominee was voted down in that state. The lone Democrat on the current Council also voted against the most recent high court nominee.

Because judges serve such long terms in most of New England, it will take time to get more judges with a record of representing real people, not just corporations or a government. Advocates can pressure their state lawmakers or councillors to get more professional diversity on the bench. Until that happens, these courts will likely continue to be dominated by political insiders and lawyers with a record of fighting for corporations and against workers or consumers.

CASE STUDY: CORPORATIONS OVER PEOPLE IN MASSACHUSETTS

Studies have shown the impact of courts that lack professional diversity, and the people of New England have seen the results. For example, PPP's research into dissenting opinions on the Connecticut Supreme Court found that judges with pro-people backgrounds were more likely to rule for people over powerful interests like the state or corporations. In this report, PPP Action took a deep dive into the record of the Massachusetts Supreme Judicial Court.

Our new research, looking at 125 cases over the past decade, suggests that the state's highest court has begun to rule more often for corporations and against people in recent years. We examined the votes of justices in cases where people were facing off against corporations, employers, or healthcare providers.[5] Of note, all seven current justices worked as corporate lawyers themselves.

Since the appointment of Justice Elizabeth DeWar in the fall of 2023, the court has ruled for corporate interests in 60 percent of the cases where the other party is a person or people, usually a worker, consumer, tenant, or homeowner facing foreclosure.[6] Though the current court has only ruled on 20 cases in our study, this was an increase from the previous iteration of the court, which ruled against people in 53 percent of the cases. Only one current justice that we surveyed, Justice Dalila Argaez Wendlandt, ruled more often for workers, consumers, or tenants—and she came in just under the wire at 48 percent.

The earliest iteration of the court that we studied, from 2016 through February 2021, actually ruled for people in the majority of cases studied. This was especially true in the first two years, when the majority still included Justice Geraldine Hines, a former public defender and the first Black woman on the court. The court in 2019 ruled in favor of a renter who, without the help of a lawyer, argued that he was wrongfully denied his security deposit.

Around the same time, the justices ruled for a pro se worker who claimed he was denied wages, and they declared his employer's appeal "frivolous." After Justices Dalila Argaez Wendlandt and Serge Georges were appointed by Republican Governor Charlie Baker in 2021, the court ruled for corporations, employers, or landlords in 53 percent of the cases over the next two-and-a-half years.[7] In one controversial case, the court ruled against a woman who was injured by a bone fragment in a Wendy's hamburger, upholding a lower court's decision to order a new trial after her lawyer "urged the jury … to decide the case based on an 'us versus them' attitude with a bias against big corporations."

These numbers suggest that a disturbing trend is unfolding. Ordinary people, such as injured workers or people facing the loss of their home, now have a harder time finding justice at the Massachusetts Supreme Judicial Court. In June 2024, for example, the court ruled for Uber and against a chef who was paralyzed in an accident caused by an Uber driver. The justices sent the case to mandatory arbitration, ruling that the passenger had agreed to it by clicking "accept" when Uber offered new terms on the app.[8] The lone dissent by Justice Scott Kafker warned that "the passenger has contracted away all his or her rights against Uber without ever being aware of doing so."

[5] When the votes of individual justices weren't outlined, the court's decision was attributed to all sitting justices. The appendix includes lawsuits against corporations, healthcare providers, public employers, nonprofit employers, and private contractors for the government, including cases in which the contracting agency is a third-party defendant. It doesn't include disputes between owners of a business; lawsuits filed by disgruntled shareholders or executives; disputes over commercial leases; zoning or land use cases; appeals of revocations of professional licenses or legal malpractice cases; lawsuits filed by employees facing criminal charges that seek attorney's fees; lawsuits filed by an insurer to determine beneficiaries of a policy; cases in which a plaintiff corporation "pierced the corporate veil" to sue another corporation's officers; qui tam suits on behalf of the state; libel/defamation cases; lawsuits filed by professionals against their insurers; internal employment disputes within the judiciary; certified questions related to bankruptcy cases; appeals by the state's IOLTA committee; lawsuits seeking fees for anti-SLAPP claims; lawsuits over mandatory reporting of sexual assaults; or pro se appeals of decisions by a single justice on appeals in Housing Court cases

[6] See Appendix D.

[7] See Appendix D.

[8] The court in 2021 ruled against Uber on a similar issue. But the company updated its terms before the 2024 decision.

GETTING PRO-PEOPLE JUDGES ON THE BENCH

Voters can take action to demand more pro-people judges across New England. They can pressure the governors to diversify their nominating commissions to include former public defenders, Legal Aid lawyers, and other public interest attorneys. And the members of the commissions should be pressed to recruit lawyers who spent their careers helping people in need.

Judges shouldn't be pulled exclusively from state capitals, prosecutors' offices, and big corporate law firms.

The Connecticut Pro-People Judiciary Coalition, a diverse alliance of advocacy groups and plaintiffs' firms, has been pushing Governor Ned Lamont to nominate more judges with backgrounds in public defense, legal aid, civil rights, labor, and other public interest fields. This is a leading to a shift in attitude among some legislators considering his nominees.

Other elected officials, who have the power to demand better judges, can help diversify the bench in New England. Councilors and state Senators can ask tough questions of nominees and reject nominees who won't bring professional diversity to their state's judiciary.

Lawmakers can also make the process of choosing judges as transparent as it is in other states, where nominating commissions interview candidates and deliberate in public meetings. They can pass laws that require certain viewpoints be represented on these commissions. As in Connecticut, they can require more transparency, including data on professional diversity, in judicial nominations.

Though judges are appointed in New England, voters have power over the elected officials that appoint and confirm them. They can demand change. Judges shouldn't be pulled exclusively from state capitals, prosecutors' offices, and big corporate law firms. Our research has shown what that means for workers and ordinary people in Connecticut and Massachusetts. This system isn't fair to ordinary people who can't afford fancy lawyers.

MEET THE AUTHOR: BILLY CORRIHER



Billy Corriher is the state courts manager for PPPA and author of the upcoming book, "Justice for the People - The Anita Earls Story." He worked at the Center for American Progress from 2012 to 2017. Billy has helped fight Republican attempts to pack the courts in his native North Carolina with judges who would limit the rights of workers and voters, and he has worked with progressive courts advocates around the country. His writing and analysis have appeared in Slate, Democracy Docket, Facing South, NC Newsline, and other outlets. His first book is titled "Usurpers: How Voters Stopped the GOP Takeover of North Carolina's Courts."

ABOUT PPPA

PPPA is a movement of law students and attorneys organizing for a democratized legal system which empowers working people and opposes subordination in any form. Together, we are dismantling a profession that upholds corporate power and building in its place a system that reflects our values of justice, equity, and solidarity. Join us!

ABOUT THE REPORT

Written by Billy Corriher in partnership with PPPA
Designed by Eve Wallack
Supervision by Molly Coleman

APPENDIX A

	Prosecutor	Corporate	General practice	Executive branch (state)	Government (other)	Public defender	Legal Aid	Civil Rights	Union-side lab	Plaintiff litigation
Total	39%	61%	44%	25%	17%	3%	3%	3%	0%	11%
Rhode Island										
Paul Suttell, Chief Justice			1		1					
William P. Robinson III		1								
Erin Lynch Prata			1		1					
Melissa A. Long			1	1		1				
Luis Mato (nominee)	1	1			1					
	20%	40%	60%	20%	60%	20%	0%	0%	0%	0%
Vermont										
Michael P. Drescher	1	1			1					
Christina Nolan	1	1	1							
Paul L. Reiber			1							
Harold E. Eaton, Jr.	1	1	1							1
Nancy Waples	1		1							
	80%	60%	80%	0%		0%	0%	0%	0%	20%
New Hampshire										
Daniel E. Will			1	1						
Bryan K. Gould			1							
Patrick E. Donovan	1	1	1		1					
Melissa Beth Countway	1		1							1
Gordon J. MacDonald	1	1		1						
	60%	40%	80%	40%	20%	0%	0%	0%	0%	20%
Massachusetts										
Justice Elizabeth N. Dewar		1		1				1		
Justice Gabrielle R. Wolohojian	1	1								
Chief Justice Kimberly S. Budd	1	1	1							
Justice Frank M. Gaziano	1	1								
Justice Scott L. Kafker		1		1						
Justice Dalila Argaez Wendlandt		1								
Justice Serge Georges, Jr.		1	1							
	43%	100%	29%	29%	0%	0%	0%	14%	0%	0%
Maine										
Julia M. Lipez	1	1								
Valerie Stanfill			1				1			1
Andrew M. Mead			1							
Christopher Taub				1						
Catherine R. Connors		1								
Rick Lawrence		1								
Wayne Douglas		1		1						
	14%	57%	29%	29%	0%	0%	14%	0%	0%	14%
Connecticut										
William H. Bright, Jr.		1								
Andrew J. McDonald		1	1		1					
Gregory T. D'Auria		1		1						
Raheem L. Mullins	1									
Steven D. Ecker										1
Nora Dannehy	1	1		1						
Melanie L. Cradle (nominee)	1									
	43%	57%	14%	29%	14%	0%	0%	0%	0%	14%

APPENDIX B

	Prosecutor	Corporate	General practice	Executive branch	Government	Public defender	Legal Aid	Civil Rights	Plaintiff litigation
Total	45.7%	41.2%	29.4%	35.3%	14.7%	0.0%	0.0%	2.9%	5.9%
MA Court of Appeals									
Chief Justice Mark V. Green		1	1						
Associate Justice Kathryn E. Hand	1								1
Associate Justice William J. Meade	1			1	1				
Associate Justice Ariane D. Vuono	1								
Associate Justice Amy Lyn Blake	1		1						
Associate Justice Gregory I. Massing	1	1		1	1				
Associate Justice James R. Milkey				1					
Associate Justice Peter J. Rubin		1	1						
Associate Justice Robert Toone		1		1					
Associate Justice Robert A. Brennan	1		1						
Associate Justice Andrew M. D'Angelo			1						
Associate Justice Kenneth V. Desmond Jr.	1				1				
Associate Justice Joseph M. Ditkoff	1				1				
Associate Justice Marguerite T. Grant	1	1							
Associate Justice Vickie L. Henry	1	1						1	
Associate Justice Rachel E. Hershfang	1	1			1				
Associate Justice Christopher P. Hodgens	1								
Associate Justice Eric Neyman	1	1		1					
Associate Justice Peter Sacks				1					
Associate Justice Sookyoung Shin		1	1	1					
Associate Justice Sabita Singh	1	1							
Associate Justice Paul Hart Smyth	1								
Associate Justice Maureen Walsh	1			1					
Associate Justice Jennifer Allen			1						
Associate Justice Gloria Tan						1			
Associate Justice Chauncey Wood			1						
	61.5%	40.0%	28.0%	32.0%	20.0%	0.0%	0.0%	4.0%	4.0%
Connecticut									
W. Glen Pierson (nominee)		1	1						1
Judge Bethany J. Alvord		1							
Judge Nina F. Elgo				1					
Judge Ingrid L. Moll		1							
Judge Jose A. Suarez				1					
Judge Robert W. Clark		1		1					
Judge Hope C. Seeley			1						
Judge Dawne G. Westbrook			1						
Judge Robin L. Wilson				1					
	0.0%	44.4%	33.3%	44.4%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	11.1%

APPENDIX C

	Prosecutor	Corporate	General pra	Executive branch (sta	Government (ot	Public defender	Legal Aid	Civil Rights/De	Plaintiff litig
Total	37.5%	35.3%	39.2%	15.2%	11.3%	10.0%	3.9%	1.3%	5.8%
New Hampshire									
Hon. Mark E. Howard, Chief Justice	1		1						
Hon. David A. Anderson		1							
Hon. Mark D. Attorri	1	1	1						
Hon. John A. Curran		1							
Hon. N. William Delker	1	1							
Hon. Anne M. Edwards			1	1					
Hon. Lisa M. English				1					
Hon. Jonathan S. Frizzell			1						
Hon. Daniel I. St. Hilaire	1		1	1	1				
Hon. Martin Honigberg		1		1					
Hon. James W. Kennedy	1				1				
Hon. John C. Kissinger, Jr.	1	1							
Hon. Michael A. Klass		1	1						
Hon. Elizabeth M. Leonard			1						1
Hon. Andrew B. Livernois	1		1	1	1				
Hon. Amy Messer						1		1	
Hon. Rudolph W. Ogden, III				1					
Hon. David W. Ruoff	1	1	1			1			
Hon. Andrew R. Schulman		1	1			1			
Hon. Jacki A. Smith	1					1			
	45%	45%	50%	30%	15%	20%	0%	5%	5%
Connecticut									
Barbara Aaron			1			1			
James Abrams		1							
Michael Albis			1						
Linda Allard							1		
Barry Armata		1							
Matthew Auger									1
Claudia Baio		1							
Laura Baldini		1							
Barbara Bellis			1				1		
Tejas Bhatt						1			
John Blawie	1								
Elizabeth Bozzutto		1							
Barbara Brazzel-Massaro		1							
Donna Wilkerson Brillant				1					
Peter Brown			1	1	1				
Matthew Budzik				1					
Mary-Margaret Burgdorff									1
Eugene Calistro	1								
Harry Calmar		1							
Suzanne Caron			1						
Karyl Carrasquilla					1				
Courtney Chaplin	1								
John Cirello			1						
William Clark			1						
Susan Cobb				1					
Susan Connors		1							
John Cordani		1							
Robert D'Andrea		1							
Tracy Lee Dayton	1	1							
Leo Diana					1				
Kevin Doyle	1								
Nuala Droney		1							
Lisa Grasso Egan		1		1					
John Farley		1							
Anne Ficeto				1	1				
Jack Fischer	1								
Matthew Frechette			1						
Tammy Geathers				1		1			
David Gold	1								
Karen Goodrow						1			
Matthew Gordon		1							

	Prosecutor	Corporate	General pra	Executive branch (sta	Government (ot	Public defender	Legal Aid	Civil Rights/De	Plaintiff litig
Ernest Green						1			
Auden Grogins			1		1				
Jane Grossman							1		
Michael Gustafson	1								
H. Gordon Hall	1								
Gerald Harmon			1						
Donna Nelson Heller		1							
Alex Hernandez		1							
Barbara Hoffman	1								
Sheila Huddleston		1							
Bruce Hudock	1					1			
Robyn Stewart Johnson	1								
Barbara Bailey Jongbloed	1								
Michael Kamp									1
John Kavanewsky			1						
Maureen Keegan	1								
Corinne Klatt	1								
Daniel Klau			1						
Kimberly Knox			1						
Ronald Kowalski		1							
Hunchu Kwak		1							
Jason Lobo			1	1					
Ann Lynch		1		1					
Jennifer Macierowski					1				
Kimberly Massicotte				1					
Stephanie McLaughlin		1							
Kathleen McNamara	1								
Peter McShane	1								
Maximino Medina		1							
John Moore		1							
Margarita Hartley Moore			1						
Lisa Morgan		1							
Ndidi Moses		1		1					
Thomas Moukawsher		1			1				
Kevin Murphy	1								
Margaret Murphy					1		1		
Shari Murphy			1						
Carla Nascimento			1						
Robert Nastri Jr.		1							
John Newsom						1			
Tammy Nguyen-Dowd			1	1					
Gladys Idelis Nieves			1						
Cesar Noble		1							
Edward O'Hanlon		1							
Vernon Oliver	1	1							
Sheila Ozalis		1							
Angelica Papastavros						1			
Carletha Parkinson		1							
Robin Pavia	1								
Chris Pelosi	1								
Sheila Prats						1			
Maureen Price-Boreland							1		
Sybil Richards		1							
Earl Richards III	1								
Andrew Roraback			1		1				
Stuart Rosen		1							
Kevin Russo	1								
Norma Sanchez-Figueroa			1						
Carl Schuman	1								
Joseph Schwartz		1							
Dan Shaban			1		1				
Rupal Shah		1		1					
James Sicilian		1							
Walter Spader Jr.		1							
James Field Spallone			1						

	Prosecutor	Corporate	General pra	Executive branch (sta	Government (ot	Public defender	Legal Aid	Civil Rights/De	Plaintiff litig
Barry Stevens	1		1						
Elizabeth Stewart		1							
Carl Taylor	1								
Erika Tindill	1						1		
Jessica Torres				1					
Anthony Truglia Jr.		1							
Elpedio Vitale	1								
Thomas Welch		1							
Dawne Westbrook			1						
Gary White						1			
Robin Wilson				1					
Michael Wu		1					1		
Robert Young		1							
	22.6%	35.5%	20.2%	12.1%	8.1%	8.1%	5.6%	0.0%	2.4%
Massachusetts									
Sanders, Janet L.		1							1
Cosgrove, Robert C.	1								
Hogan, Maureen B.	1			1					
Ames, Mary K.	1		1						
Cannone, Beverly J.						1			
Davis, Brian A.		1							
Drechsler, Thomas	1							1	
Frison, Shannon	1		1		1				
Gordon, Robert B.		1							
Kenton-Walker, Janet	1	1	1			1			
Kirpalani, Maynard M.		1							
Krupp, Peter B.		1	1			1			
McGuire, Thomas F.		1	1		1				
Pasquale, Gregg J.	1		1						1
Pierce, Laurence D.	1	1							
Roach, Christine M.		1			1				
Salinger, Kenneth W.		1		1					
Sullivan, William F.	1		1						
Ullmann, Robert	1	1							
Wall, Joshua I.	1	1	1						
Wilkins, Douglas H.		1	1	1					
Wilson, Paul D.		1							
Wrenn, Daniel M.									1
Yessayan, Raffi N.	1		1						
Duncan, Tracy E.			1						
Michael Pineault	1	1		1					
Adam Sisitsky		1							
Carey, Richard J.	1		1						
Ricciuti, Michael D.	1	1							
Barrett, C. William	1								1
Barry-Smith, Christopher K.		1		1					
Hon. Christopher P. Belezos			1						1
Hon. Karin Bell	1	1							
Hon. William F. Bloomer	1		1		1				
Hon. Jeremy C. Bucci	1								
Buckley, Elaine M.		1							1
Hon. James Budreau			1				1		
Hon. Kristen Buxton	1								
Hon. Michael A. Cahillane	1								
Callan, Michael K.			1						
Campbell, Cathleen E.	1		1		1				
Campo Jr., Anthony M.		1							
Hon. Claudine A. Cloutier									1
Connolly, Rosemary			1						
Cowin, Jackie A.			1						
Deakin, David A.	1								
Donatelle, Sharon E.	1								
Doolin, Michael P.	1		1						
Hon. Elizabeth Dunigan	1								
Hon. Sarah Ellis	1								

	Prosecutor	Corporate	General pra	Executive branch (sta	Government (ot	Public defender	Legal Aid	Civil Rights/De	Plaintiff litig
Freniere, Diane C.	1	1							
Gildea, Mark C.			1		1				
Hon. Brian S. Glenny	1								
Goodwin, Karen L.	1	1							
Hon. Patrick M. Haggan	1								1
Hallal, Mark A.	1		1						
Hon. Catherine Ham	1						1		
Hodge, David M.			1			1			
Howe, Janice W.	1	1							
Karp, Jeffrey T.	1	1	1						
Kazanjian, Hélène	1	1		1					
Hon. James Manitsas		1	1						1
McCarthy, Kathleen M.	1		1						
Hon. Edward J. McDonough			1						
Mulqueen, Jane E.	1								
Hon. John Pappas	1								
Perrino, Thomas J.			1						
Hon. Katie Rayburn	1		1						
Reardon Jr., J. Gavin			1						
Ritter, William J.		1							
Hon. Camille Sarrouf, Jr.	1	1							
Squires-Lee, Debra A.		1							
Sullivan, Susan E.		1							
Tabit, Salim Rodriguez	1		1						
Hon. Brent A. Tingle		1							
White Jr., William M.	1		1						1
Yarashus, Valerie A.			1						1
John Fraser			1						
Keren Goldenberg			1			1	1		
Julie Green		1	1	1					
Matthew Nestor	1		1	1					
Deepika Shukla	1	1						1	1
Tracy E. Duncan			1						
Michael Pineault	1	1		1					
Adam Sisitsky		1							
Emily Karstetter			1						
Thomas Townsend	1								
Ira Gant						1			
Charles W. Groce			1						
Adam Hornstine		1		1					
Sarah G. Kim	1	1		1					
Amy Karangekis	1		1	1					
Jeffrey Trapani	1	1							
Asha White	1		1		1				
Sarah Hamilton						1			
Gillian Feiner				1			1		
Sarah Joss		1		1					
97	52.6%	38.6%	39.8%	7.2%	7.2%	4.8%	2.4%	1.2%	13.3%
Vermont									
Alison Arms			1			1			
David Barra		1	1						
Benjamin Battles		1							
Dickson Corbett	1				1				
Cortland Corsones			1						
David Fenster	1								1
John Valente			1						
Heather Gray	1		1						
John Pacht		1	1			1			
Megan Shafritz		1	1	1					
Mary Morrissey	1								
Navah Spero			1						
Justin Jiron	1		1						
Timothy Tomasi	1			1					
Rory Thibault	1				1				
Susan McManus			1			1			

	Prosecutor	Corporate	General pra	Executive branch (sta	Government (ot	Public defender	Legal Aid	Civil Rights/De	Plaintiff litig
Daniel Richardson			1		1				
John Treadwell	1								
Kerry McDonald-Cady	1		1		1				
Beth Mann			1			1			
Howard Kalfus		1		1		1			
Elizabeth Novotny	1		1	1					
Robert Katims			1						
Colin Owyang	1								
Bonnie Badgewick			1						
Timothy Doherty	1		1						
Laura Rowntree		1		1	1				
Lisa Warren	1		1						
Rachel Malone						1			
Alexander Burke	1								
Joseph McLean (enviro)			1						
Kate Gallagher		1		1					
Dana Marianna DiSano	1								
Kirsten Schoonover				1		1	1		
Jennifer Barrett	1								
Thomas Walsh (enviro)			1						
Michael Harris			1						
Elizabeth Mann			1			1			
	42.1%	18.4%	57.9%	18.4%	13.2%	21.1%	2.6%	0.0%	2.6%
Rhode Island									
Joanna Achille			1		1				
William E. Carnes, Jr.			1		1				
Kristin E. Rodgers		1	1		1				
Brian P. Stern (business calendar)		1	1	1					
Brian Van Couyghen	1			1	1				
Sarah Taft-Carter			1						
Luis M. Matos	1	1			1				
Joseph A. Montalbano			1		1				
Richard A. Licht		1			1				
Maureen B. Keough	1		1						
Melissa E. Darigan		1							
Richard D. Raspallo			1		1				
Linda Rekas-Sloan		1	1						
R. David Cruise				1	1				
Kevin F. McHugh			1		1				
Christopher K. Smith						1			
Joseph J. McBurney	1	1							
Robert D. Krause	1								
Maria Ferro Deaton	1		1						
	31.6%	36.8%	57.9%	15.8%	52.6%	5.3%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
Maine									
Hon. Robert E. Mullen, Chief Justice			1						
Hon. Jennifer Archer			1	1					
Hon. Daniel Billings			1	1					
Hon. Deborah P. Cashman	1		1						
Hon. Patrick Larson	1		1						
Hon. James Martemucci		1							
Hon. Bruce C. Mallonee			1						
Hon. Darcie McElwee	1								
Hon. Thomas McKeon			1						
Hon. Daniel Mitchell	1		1						
Hon. Richard W. Mulhern		1							
Hon. Michaela Murphy						1			1
Hon. Ann M. Murray	1		1						
Hon. Stephen Nelson			1						
Hon. Sean Ociepka			1					1	
Hon. Maria A. Woodman	1								
	37.5%	12.5%	68.8%	12.5%	0.0%	6.3%	0.0%	6.3%	6.3%

APPENDIX D

	Date	Corp. win = 1	Kimberly Budd	Frank Gaziano	Scott Kafker	Dalila Argaez Wi	Serge Georges,	Elspeth Cypher	David A. Lowy	Barbara Lenk	Ralph Gants	Elizabeth N. Dev	Gabrielle R. Wol	Margot Botsford	Geraldine Hines
Totals		51.2%	50.8%	51.6%	51.8%	48.1%	52.9%	52.2%	50.5%	47.6%	48.4%	52.9%	50.0%	66.7%	38.5%
Suquilanda v. Skyway Roofing, Inc. (SJC 1	2026-08-18	1	1	1	1	1	1					1	1		
Nicholls v. Veolia Water Contract Operati	2026-07-13	1	1	1	1	1	1					1	1		
Robinson v. Marshfield	2026-05-15	0	0	0	0	0						0	0		
Fontaine v. Philip Morris USA Inc.	2026-04-22	0	0	0	0	0	0					0	0		
Ryan v. Mary Ann Morse Healthcare Corp	2026-03-13	1	0	0	0	0	0					0	0		
QUINTEASHA DosSANTOS vs. BETH ISR	2026-01-06	1	1	1	1		1					1	1		
JEAN BENNETT, personal representative,	2025-11-17	0	0	0	0	0	0					0	0		
CARLOS NUNEZ vs. SYNCSORT INCORP	2025-10-22	1	1	1	1	1	1					1	1		
PEEBLES v. JRK PROPERTY HOLDINGS I	2025-08-01	0	0	0	0	0	0					0	0		
CANNATA v. TOWN OF MASHPEE	2025-06-18	1	1	1	1	1	1					1	1		
GINA M. FERRINI, as Personal Represent	2025-03-27	1	1	1	1	1	1					1	1		
LORRAINE BELLMAR, personal represen	2025-03-27	0	0	0	0	0	0					0	0		
STEVEN LUPPOLD vs. SUSAN HANLON (	2025-01-03	0	0	0	0	0	0					0	0		
KATHLEEN VITA[1] vs. NEW ENGLAND B	2024-10-24	1	1	1	1	0	1					1			
TJR SERVICES LLC vs. WILLIAM L. HUTC	2024-12-26	1	1	1	1	1	1					1	1		
WILLIAM GOOD vs. UBER TECHNOL	2024-06-07	1	1	1	0	1	1								
NEW ENGLAND AUTO MAX, INC., & othe	2024-05-20	1	1	1	1	1						1			
MATTHEW SUTTON vs. JORDAN'S FURN	2024-03-28	0	0	0	0	0	0		0			0			
HENRY H. WORTIS & others vs. TRUSTEI	2024-03-14	0	0	0	0	0	0								
JONI BABALETOS, personal representati	2024-02-02	1	1	1	1	1	1		1						
		60.0%	55.0%	60.0%	50.0%	47.4%	55.6%					52.9%	50.0%		
RUSSELL METCALF & another vs. BSC G	2023-08-21	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1						
NORVELLA HILL-JUNIOUS, individually a	2023-08-16	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1						
CHAD MARSH vs. MASSACHUSETTS CO	2023-08-14	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0						
MATTHEW DUNN vs. MARIE LANGEVIN	2023-07-11	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1						
GRACE FABIANO, personal representativ	2023-07-06	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1						
MARIA BLANCA ELENA GARCIA & anotl	2023-06-27	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1						
MARK A. ADAMS vs. SCHNEIDER ELECT	2023-06-21	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0						
AMY DOUCET & another vs. FCA US LLC	2023-06-08	0	0		0	0	0	0	0						
SUBURBAN ELECTRIC CONTRACTING, I	2023-05-26	0	0	0	0	0	0		0						
PATRICIA WALSH GREENE & another vs.	2023-05-09	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0						
DORCHESTER MUTUAL INSURANCE CO	2025-03-27	0	0	0	0	0	0		0						
BIPING HUANG & another vs. JING MA &	2023-02-02	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1						
ERIK TENCZAR & another vs. INDIAN PO	2022-12-20	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1						
VERONICA ARCHER & others vs. GRUBH	2022-07-27	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1						
HSBC BANK USA, N.A., trustee, vs. TOMN	2022-07-22	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0						
VERMONT MUTUAL INSURANCE COMP	2022-07-06	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1						
CAROLE A. ASHE, coconservator, & anotl	2022-04-15	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1						
RUTCHADA DEVANEY & others vs. ZUCC	2022-04-14	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1						
CHARLES KINGARA vs. SECURE HOME I	2022-03-28	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0						
DHANANJAY PATEL & others vs. 7-ELEV	2022-03-27	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0						
TERENCE MEEHAN vs. MEDICAL INFOR	2021-12-17	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0						
LIBERTY MUTUAL INSURANCE COMPA	2021-12-16	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0						
OFER NEMIROVSKY vs. DAIKIN NORTH /	2021-12-16	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1						
KYANA JINKS & others vs. CREDICO (US/	2021-12-13	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1						
RUSSELL BERRY vs. COMMERCE INSUR	2021-10-25	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0						
JARRETT McGILLOWAY & another vs. SA	2021-10-19	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1						
PAMELA LARAMIE vs. PHILIP MORRIS U	2021-09-15	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0						
SHAW'S SUPERMARKETS, INC. vs. MARI	2021-09-03	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0						
KEHLE OSBORNE-TRUSSELL vs. THE CH	2021-08-25	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0						
KHRIS HOVAGIMIAN & another vs. CONC	2021-08-23	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0						
TED DeCOSMO vs. BLUE TARP REDEVEL	2021-06-23	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1						
JOSEPH A. CURTATONE vs. BARSTOOL S	2021-06-14	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1						
MEAGHAN FITZPATRICK vs. WENDY'S O	2021-05-21	1	1	1	1			1	1						
CONSTANCE M. SULLIVAN & another vs.	2021-03-12	1	1	1	1			1	1						
MARGARET DeWEESE-BOYD vs. GORDO	2021-03-05	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0						
SETH DOULL & another vs. ANNA C. FOS	2021-02-26	1	1	1	1			1	1						
		52.8%	52.8%	57.1%	55.6%	48.5%	51.5%	55.9%	52.8%						
PATRICIA M. DUNN vs. GENZYME CORP(	2021-01-29	1	1	1	1			1	1	1					
CHRISTOPHER P. KAUDERS & another vs	2021-01-04	0	0	0	0			0	0	0					
DENISE DOHERTY vs. CIVIL SERVICE CO	2020-12-21	1	1	1	1			1	1	1					
MARK R. THOMPSON & another vs. JPMI	2020-11-25	1	1	1	1			1	1	1	1				
MAUREEN BLAKE & others vs. HOMETO	2020-11-24	0	0	0	0			0	0	0					
KEVIN RICHARDSON, SECOND vs. THE L	2020-10-28	1	1	1	1			1	1	1	1				
DORCHESTER MUTUAL INSURANCE CO	2020-08-16	0	0		0			0	0	0	0				
PHILIP LANDRY vs. TRANSWORLD SYST	2020-07-28	0	0	0	0			0	0	0	0				
ELMER DONIS & others vs. AMERICAN V	2020-07-21	1	1	1	1			1	1	1	1				
ROBERT GOREHAM vs. JOSE C. MARTIN	2020-06-22	1	1	1	1			1	1	1	1				
BANK OF NEW YORK MELLON, trustee, v	2020-06-17	1	1	1	1			1	1	1	1				
JACK DeCICCO & another vs. 180 GRAN	2020-05-11	1	1	1	1			1	1	1	1				
LYNN HLATKY vs. STEWARD HEALTH CA	2020-04-28	0	0	0	0			0	0	0	0				
YOUGHAL, LLC vs. AMANDA ENTWISTLI	2020-03-23	0	0	0	0			0	0	0	0				
GREEN MOUNTAIN INSURANCE COMPA	2020-03-03	0	0	0	0			0	0	0	0				
MARGARET C. DOHERTY, personal repre	2020-02-27	1	1	1	1			1	1	1	1				
GGNSC ADMINISTRATIVE SERVICES, LL	2020-02-27	1	1	1	1			1	1	1	1				
FRANCOISE PARKER vs. ENERNOC, INC.	2020-02-12	0	0	0	0			0	0	0	0				
JARID PRINCE vs. OBELISK, INC., & anotl	2020-02-11	1	1	1	1			1	1	1	1				
WENDA AQUINO vs. UNITED PROPERTY	2020-01-21	0	0	0	0			0	0	0	0				
DOUGLAS M. RAWAN & another vs. CON	2019-12-16	1	1	1	1			1	1	1	1				
JAMES M. RYAN, executor, , vs. MARY AN	2019-12-05	0	0	0	0			0	0	0	0				
UBS FINANCIAL SERVICES, INC. vs. DON	2019-10-22	0	0	0				0	0	0	0				
COMMERCE INSURANCE COMPANY vs.	2019-10-01	1	1	1	1			1	1	1	1				
ALLEN H. DAVIS vs. WILLIAM COMERFO	2019-08-16	0	0	0	0			0	0	0	0				
LESLIE HEDBERG & another vs. MAY WA	2019-07-11	0	0	0	0			0	0	0	0				
RICHARD A. DaPRATO vs. MASSACHUSE	2019-06-05	0	0	0	0			0	0	0	0				
BOSTON HOUSING AUTHORITY vs. Y.A.	2019-05-10	0	0	0	0			0	0	0	0				
LAURITA SULLIVAN & another vs. SLEEP	2019-05-08	0	0	0	0			0	0	0	0				
RICHARD MEYER vs. VEOLIA ENERGY N	2019-05-08	0	0	0	0			0	0	0	0				
FELICE GAMMELLA vs. P.F. CHANG'S CH	2019-04-12	0	0	0	0			0	0	0	0				
ANA ARIAS-VILLANO & others vs. CHAN	2019-03-15	0	0	0	0			0	0		0				
JUNE STEARNS, coexecutrix, & another v	2019-03-01	1	1	1	1			1	1		1				
BELKY FERMAN & another vs. STURGIS	2019-02-19	0	0	0	0			0	0	0	0				
WARREN YEE vs. MASSACHUSETTS STA	2019-01-29	0	0	0	0			0	0	0	0				

PPP ACTION

	Date	Corp. win = 1	Kimberly Budd	Frank Gaziano	Scott Kafker	Dalila Argaez W	Serge Georges,	Elspeth Cypher	David A. Lowy	Barbara Lenk	Ralph Gants	Elizabeth N. De	Gabrielle R. Wo	Margot Botsfor	Geraldine Hines
JILLIAN CALIXTO & another vs. HEATHEI	2018-12-28	1	1	1	1			1	1	1	1				
CAMBRIDGE STREET REALTY, LLC vs. M	2018-12-20	0	0	0	0			0	0	0	0				
DOROTEO POLANCO vs. ANDRAS SAND	2018-08-13	1	1	1	1			1	1	1	1				
OXFORD GLOBAL RESOURCES, LLC vs. J	2018-09-07	0	0	0	0			0	0	0	0				
TERRY BRIDGWOOD vs. A.J. WOOD CON	2018-08-29	1	1	1	1			1	1	1	1				
CYNTHIA WILLIAMS, personal represent	2018-08-14	1	1	1	1			1	1	1	1				
DEBRA ARMATA vs. TARGET CORPORA	2018-06-05	0	0	0	0			0	0	0	0				
HANEEFAH YAHYA vs. ROCKTOP PARTN	2018-05-25	1	1	1	1			1	1	1	1				
KULSOON AHMED-KAGZI & others vs. SI	2018-05-15	1	1	1	1			1	1	1	1				
RENTAL PROPERTY MANAGEMENT SEI	2018-05-15	1	1		1			1	1		1				
JULIO ACEVEDO vs. MUSTERFIELD PLA	2018-06-18	0	0	0	0			0			0				
CARMEN CORREA, administratrix, vs. AN	2018-06-07	0	0	0	0			0	1	0	0				
RACHEL C. WILLIAMS vs. AMERICAN HO	2018-06-05	0		0	0			0	0		1				
TARA DORRIAN vs. LVNV FUNDING, LLC	2018-04-09	1	1	1	1			1	1	1	1				
BRIAN RAFFERTY vs. MERCK & CO., INC	2018-03-16	1	1	1				1							
DAVID C. WALLACE vs. PNC BANK, N.A.	2018-01-16	1	1	1	1			1	1	1	1				
IBNER CASSEUS & another vs. EASTERN	2018-02-08	1	1	1	1			1	1	1	1				
TZE-KIT MUI vs. MASSACHUSETTS POR	2018-01-29	1	1	1	1			1	1	1	1				
JAMES B. NUTTER & COMPANY vs. EST/	2018-01-18	1	1	1	1			1	1	1	1				
SCOTT PHILLIPS vs. EQUITY RESIDENTI	2017-10-25	1	1	1	1			1	1	1	1				
MARIANNE AJEMIAN, coadministrator, &	2017-10-16	0	0	0	0			0	0	0	0				
Beacon Residential Management, LP v. R	2017-09-14	0	0	0					0	0	0				0
Barbuto v. Advantage Sales and Marketin	2017-03-09	0	0	0					0	0	0				0
Robert George & others 1 vs. National Wa	2017-06-26	0	0	0					0	0	0				0
Blanchard v. Steward Carney Hospital, Inc	2016-11-07	1	1	1					1	1	1			1	1
Brian Benoit vs. City of Boston	2017-05-16	0	0	0					0	0	0				0
George Modica vs. Sheriff of Suffolk Cou	2017-05-05	1	1	1					1	1	1				1
Derrick Washington vs. Maryjo Gagliani.	2017-05-12	1	1	1					1	1	1			1	1
Federal National Mortgage Association v	2017-05-11	0	0	0					0	0	0				0
Gannon v. City of Boston	2016-12-08	0	0	0					0	0	0				0
Odin Anderson & others 1 vs. National Un	2017-02-02	1	1	1					1	1	1			1	1
Turra v. Deutsche Bank Trust Company A	2017-01-30	1	1	1					1	1	1			1	1
Moronta v. Nationstar Mortgage, LLC	2016-12-22	0	0	0					0	0	0			0	0
Chambers v. RDI Logistics, Inc.	2016-10-05	0	0	0					0	0	0			0	0
		47.8%	48.5%	47.8%	50.0%			50.0%	49.3%	47.6%	48.4%			66.7%	38.5%